WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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The Christ to Trade

Christs of the Age of Trade! Martyrs of
beams and of bricks,
Dying to build up a bank where men
shall be bought and sold:
Finding your death on the plank, with
the scaffold for crucifix:
Taking your life in your teeth, that
the few shall be seised of gold—
Martyrs who perish unduly! Your life
for your meat give ye;
Your Archetype died for the million: you
die for the twain or thee.

Building the mighty bridge for the
freight of the huckster's wares,
Raising great Babel towers that dip in
the deep of the clouds:
Selling your life, with your days, with
the sweat and the whitening of hairs.
High on the raking scaffold you build
while you stitch your shroud,
Making an earth-broad progress that
goes not to you when made,
And leaving your blood on the stones
of the streets of the town of Trade.

Daily ye go to your slaughter, as long
ago went He.
Giving your life and your labor, ever
and aye for the few—
And their claquer, and chancelled priest,
saying Christ made you free,
Lies for the sake of the spoilers, who
fat on the spoiling of you.
Patient and plodding as beasts, which
know not of death nor of life,
Paid by the bread that but spurs you
to get of new slaves from your wife.

You build up the hall and the mansion,
and lo! when your work is done,
Your sweat and your toil you hide in
the hut by the fever drain:
And you paint in rose and in chrome for
the eyes of the Prince's son.
And then—to sleep in your hovels, if
unhaply ye be not slain
On the bloody cross of the scaffold which
your All and their Naught hath
made,
In the land that is owned by Barrabas,
O Christs of the Age of Trade!

But a change comes swift for us all, and
ye martyrs who bled for the few—
Oh! ye men to whose tight-belted bellies your lives are forever in pawn!
For that breath of a wakened people called "God" shall bequeath us anew
The land and the sea, and the chances,
and the clean strength that comes
with the dawn,
And the thing that you think and you
make shall be yours when 'tis
thought and made;
And your sweat shall be shed for your
selves, and not for the Moloch
Trade!

Randoph Bedford.

THE TRIAL OF IDEAS.

In their dungeons, in thir prisons,
Where our best and bravest lie;
Where our Masters and their henchmen
Keep their fiendish labor spy.
Where the turnkey and the gunman
Spit their venom at the goal;
There you'll find the trial of Ideas
That are in the rebel's soul!

In their court rooms and their pulpits
Where the mind-destroyers stay;
Where masters keep their hirelings
So that justice will not pay;
Where the lawyer and the preacher
Chants the masters' pagan creed;
There you'll find the trial of ideas,
There you'll find the poisoned seed!

In all history of all ages,
Their trade they've always plied,—
They sought to murder ideas
When Christ was crucified:
With their doctrine of reaction,
Death to Freedom's sons they'd give:
Tho' the fiends may murder thinkers,
Thinkers' ideas always live!

W. H. LEWIS.

Our Letter Box.

Longreach, Queensland, 30/9/17.

Dear Comrades,

The Pastoral strike in Queensland has fizzled out. Just the same old story—fighting in sections and beaten in sections. Not by any means a revolution: just a blind kick at something that hurts, but no organisation behind the kick. I notice you people are having much the same experience down there. In the pastoral strike the men not only had to fight the bosses and their allies, the A.W.U. officials, but the whole of their organised (?) fellow workers outside the actual operation of shearing. The position here now is that if one is referred to as a good loyal man, one is not quite certain but what it is only a flash way of calling one a scabby ——!

At the commencement of the trouble here I was half in hopes of being able to form a local of the W.I.I.U., but soon discovered that the time was hardly ripe. The I.W.W. is a handicap to one in these parts. I have a general name of being and I.W.W. agitator. The boneheads have no discrimination, and the moment that one speaks on Industrial Unionism they make up their narrow minds that it is I.W.W.ism. The majority are very mixed in their ideas. Whilst being aware that things are not as they should be, they do not wish to break away from the A.W.U., but seem to think they could turn it into a "bastard craft cum I.W.W. union."

Their vision is obscured by all sorts of craft union cobwebs, and the track to the promised land is obliterated in many places by the number of red herrings dragged across the trail, such as Randolph Bedford's "Australia's Only Cry," and a blind, unreasoning worship of the White Australia fetish. This latter bring my W.I.I.U. propaganda right up against a solid concrete wall.

"What!" they exclaim, "Allow Chows and Niggers into the union; not half!" 'Tis almost in vain I point out that Chows and Niggers are going to be introduced into this country very shortly, and with the connivance of their Labor misleaders. "Never! Never!" they shout. "We'll, we'll"—"Yes," I've remarked, "We'll do what—nothing!" "Oh, yes, we will. There'll be a revolution," they say. Which I inform them would suit the international capitalist down to the ground, for though some of their tools here may be killed, the real oppressors would be quite safely out of the country long before any revolt really became serious. Then we, having shown that we were incapable of governing ourselves by attempting to revolt against our own elected government, we would be duly wiped out, and Chow, Hindu, and blackamoor placed here in our stead, and Australia would be Fiji on a large scale. But Lord bless you, no! The boneheads won't have it. Are they not free Britons? Are not the British capitalists the most generous, kind-hearted, tolerant employers in Christendom? And so on ad nauseam. One can only keep on battering, remembering Longfellow's exhortation:—

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate—
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

I am to a certain extent boycotted by the master class here, assisted by the A.W.U. officials. Even a deputation of some of the nicest people waited on the hotelkeeper, at whose house I stay, asking him to pelt me out forthwith, or they would boycott him. He declined, and although he has lost some trade in consequence, he has not as yet had to put up the shutters. However, as soon as I can manage it, I will join up with the A.S.P. and also the W.I.I.U. In the meantime I am trying to be as much of a live wire as I can. That I am partly succeeding is proved by the fact of the local master class considering me dangerous.

With best wishes to all comrades down there, and best wishes for the increased circulation and long life of the I.S.

I am, yours in the class war,

C.J.H.

News from Russia.

Vladivostock,
September 4th, 1917.

(To the "International Socialist").

Comrades,

Althought I should like to give you some idea of what is going on here at present, that is beyond the bounds of possibility, for many reasons, which I shall keep to myself. But I will try to make a very brief sketch.

The first thing that struck me most, on my home-coming, was poverty. I have seen many poorly clothed, badly fed, work wearied men, women and youngsters. I never expected to find Vladivostock in such a condition—Vladivostock, the rich seaport, located far from the war. What must conditions be like in the vicinity of war in Central Russia? In so remote a city as this I can see marks of suffering and exhaustion on the faces of the populace—marks hardly dispersed by the great changes in political affairs, by the feverishly working minds, concentrated upon the new political freedom.

The minds of the populace are working slowly but surely, and although the workers are behaving in a child-like manner, they are growing up fast. Their previous mistakes teach them, and I think the revolution will go much deeper than is thought by those who look upon Russia as a country of barbarians. But great efforts are required on the economic field in Russia to save it from complete ruin. The land question, still the main question of the moment, leads to a great conflict between democracy, and the capitalist and land-owning forces. This conflict the bourgeoisie are trying to postpone as long as they can. They are especially afraid of it at the present stage of the war, for it would place them in a very unfavorable position. They would have to show their cards to the people, and the workers and peasants would surely go after the extremist parties.

The bourgeoisie are at present strong enough to compel the Russian Provisional Government to refuse to recognise the necessity of convening the Stockholm conference, which it recognised a few weeks ago. The reactionaries are rasing their heads, but the Russian democracy begin to see their real enemies, and are awakening to act. They will act strongly and victoriously.

That is all that is possible to say at the present moment of doings in Russia.

As to international affairs, I thing it is useless to write anything, for it would be censored.

I shall only say that the Russian democracy is still true to its first formula of peace, and to internationalism, and, if asked, will repeat this formula again. It would say: "For *humanity, fraternity, and equality.*" By Russia, I mean the workers.

Yours fraternally,

ALEX BOLDIN.

In his adress on Voctaire, speaking on the alleged virtues of little amulets of consecrated paper, Ingersoll says it was believed—"If you put one in the barn the rats would not eat your corn." Perhaps this would be a cheap way of solving the nice problem in N.S.W. Perhaps the Prophet of Mars or the diminutive darling of the duchesses might be induced to speculate in a few amulets, and in this way secure a revival of the "faith of our fathers," as well as national economy, killing two birds, as it were, with one stone, and securing for ever the praises of Faith and Fat.

Selections

FROM ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER, 1788-1860.

The doctor views mankind in all its weakness; the lawyer in all its wickedness; the theologian in all its stupidity.

I wish some one would attempt a **tragical history of literature showing** how the greatest writers and artists have been treated during their lives by the various nations which have produced them, and whose proudest possessions they are. It would show us the endless fight which the good and genuine works of all periods and countries have had to carry on against the perverse and bad. It would depict the **martyrdom** of almost all those who truly enlightened humanity, of almost all the great masters in every kind of art. It would show us how they, with few exceptions, were tormented without recognition, without any to share their misery, without followers; how they existed in poverty, and misery, whilst fame, honour, and riches fell to the lot of the worthless. It would reveal that what happened to them, happened to Esau, who, while hunting the deer for his father, was robbed of the blessing by Jacob disguised in his brother's coat; and how through it all, the love of their subject kept them up, until at last the trying fight of such a teacher of the human race is ended, and the immortal laurel offered to him.

* * *

This our earth this day produces sufficient for our existence. This our earth produces not only a sufficiency, but a superabundance, and pours a cornucopia of good things down upon us. Further, it produces sufficient for stores and granaries to be filled to the roof-tree for years ahead. I verily believe that the earth in one year produces enough food to last for thirty. Why, then, have we not enough? Why do people die of starvation, or lead a miserable existence on the verge of it? Why have millions upon millions to toil from morning to evening just to gain a mere crust of bread? Because of the absolute lack of organisation by which such labour should produce its effect, the absolute lack of distribution, the absolute lack even of the very idea that such things are possible. Nay, even to mention such things, to say that they are possible, is criminal with many. Madness could hardly go farther.

That selfishness has all to do with it I entirely deny. The human race for ages upon ages has been enslaved by ignorance and by interested persons whose object it has been to confine the minds of men, thereby doing more injury than if with infected hands they purposely imposed disease on the heads of the people. Almost worse than these, and at the present day as injurious, are those persons incessantly declaring, teaching, and impressing upon all that to work is man's highest condition. This falsehood is the interested superstition of an age infatuated with money, which having accumulated it cannot even expend it in pageantry. It is a falsehood propagated for the doubtful benefit of two or three out of ten thousand. It is the lie of a morality founded on money alone, and utterly outside and having no association whatever with the human being itself.—Richard Jeffries.

* * *

"By the inventions in agricultural machinery the United States can feed all the mouths upon the earth. There is not a thing that man uses that cannot instantly be over-produced to such an extent as to become almost worthless, and yet with all this production with all this power to create there are millions and millions in abject want. Granaries bursting and famine looking into the doors of the poor. Millions of everything, and yet millions wanting everything, and having substantially nothing."—Col. Ingersoll in "A Lay Sermon."

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Class Consciousness and the Strike.

By F. SUTHERLAND.

It is a common saying amongst Laborites and Direct Actionists that Socialism has run to theory, and has forgotten that action is imperative. Consequently, amongst Laborites discussion is limited to immediate demands and Direct Actionists are satisfied if only they can irritate the boss, even if their action is of no benefit to themselves. The Laborite with his insistency upon trivial reforms, reminds me of a bucket brigade attempting to cope with a huge conflagration, and the Direct Actionist, of the excited woman who when her house caught fire commenced throwing the crockery from the second storey to the street below, where it smashed to atoms. Had the good woman thought for a second or two she would have realised that whilst action was necessary it must be sensible action.

The fact is that both Laborites and Direct Actionists, as a general rule, have no appreciation of the situation. The Laborite thinks if he can squeeze a few reforms through Parliament he is helping the movement towards Socialism, and the Direct Actionist imagines if only he can shorten the hours of toil he is appreciably nearer the goal. Now there is nothing wrong with these efforts on either the political or the industrial field, where the evil is wrought is that their importance is grossly exaggerated. Here it is where lack of theory becomes evident, that is to say, the theory of Scientific Socialism.

Just as a sailor will cling to a piece of driftwood when the ship has sunk, so is labor compelled to adopt amelioration measures by the pressure of self-preservation. But when this measure and that measure is lauded to the skies, and when we are assured if only we reduce the hours of toil, the unemployed will diminish and capitalism will perceptibly shrink as a result, we need only say that false and utterly delusive hopes are being raised in the minds of workers to breed pessimism and reaction later on. Why not tell the truth that nothing short of the abolition of capitalism is of any real value? Why not assess our present day efforts at their real value, and declare the plain truth that as long as the capitalist class possess the means of life they will retain the lion's share? This does not mean that struggle should cease or even be discouraged, but it does mean we should take an intelligent view of the situation and act accordingly.

In carrying on the everyday struggle for better conditions we cannot discriminate between class-conscious and unclass-conscious workers, as both sections are needed to fight the common enemy. Our organisation and methods, to have even a fair measure of success, must be based upon actual conditions and a correct appreciation of them. In the days of the cockroach capitalist, small sectional strikes were often a success. It often happened that a competing employer would hire the men on strike against his brother capitalist, and in this way help them indirectly to win the strike. Even to-day, for instance, many of the Queensland shearers on strike are employed in sugar mills on the coast or at the smelters in the far West. But the growing combination amongst capitalists will inevitably bring forth a continental black list, and men on strike will find their chances of employment few and far between. This condition of affairs is foreshadowed by the motion carried at the Conference of Associated Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia, reported in No. 376 of this paper, where combination amongst employers was decided upon in dealing with strikes.

Here then is the situation in Australia. On the one hand, aided by either ignorant or treacherous leaders; both in Parliament and Trades Hall, the workers find themselves divided into small sections, each with its own little award for company, and disputes to be settled by a master classed biased puppet of capitalism, too splenetic often to conceal his biased views. If he is not pleased with what the puppets, or the Punch and Judy mannikins of the money power who pull the strings, give him, well he must just grin and bear it. This is so, because, on the other hand, he finds strikes are illegal, and union funds are not at his disposal. He is deserted by his alleged comrades, and must either submit or starve. In addition to this, when the capitalists prepare and enforce the black list, the case is hopeless. It matters not how strong numerically unions are in Australia; if they are to be divided into sympathy proof compartments, their numbers are of no advantage. A knowledge of the much despised theory of Socialism would have saved Labor from floundering into this bog of despair.

Not for one moment would a class conscious worker rely on the tender mercies of biased puppets of capitalism. But knowing the enormous strength and resources of the ruling class, he would not commit the folly of Direct Action, and start countless petty strikes, hopeless of success from the start, just so he could say he was doing something. To advocate Sabotage only shows a lamentable lack of appreciation of existing conditions, and the still more formidable development on the part of capital.

Plainly the conditions demand that Labor retrace its steps to the method existing before they marched blindly into the blind alley of awards and arbitration, where their powers of combination and achievement are of no advantage to them. Having ceased to keep a horde of legal parasites and countless officials of countless small unions, they could unite into a solid body, dispense with a multitude of officials, and be able to spend their dues to more advantage to themselves than nursing those whom it pays handsomely to be Pacifists in the class struggle, but who are bloodthirsty maniacs, and who show their lack of intellectual maturity when they associate with our bitterest enemy in national struggles.

We must cease sectional struggles; they are fruitless; the conditions demand mass action. The unions must make up their minds that they must either hang together or hang singly. If they remain oblivious to a rotten award, then their turn will surely come, and the sympathy or lack of sympathy they have meted out to their fellows will surely be their lot and portion; and once again divide and conquer will have proved itself a good weapon in the direction of capitalist policy. Whether they unite in One Big Union or into inter-related loosely affiliated groups, they must have a common policy; they must recognise a community of interests. Socialists have urged Mass Action before Direct Action, with its silly tactics and total lack of appreciation of the magnitude of the task, was heard about or even dreamed of; and not only so, but Mass Action will survive Direct Action, because it is a democratic instead of an anarchist weapon.

Let us beware of illusions; let there be no mistake as to the power of unionism. The One Big Union would precipitate the general strike, capitalism strongly entrenched and aided by the armed forces of the State, would calmly wait until hunger had weakened the workers, whose hand to mouth method of existence is ill-calculated to withstand a siege. Then the significance of control of the political machinery of government would be seen, including the armed forces. The capture of political power would be seen to be the one real obstacle, and in order to do this the creation of a class conscious proletariat from which the army, navy and police are recruited. Once change the sentiment and get the worker to be a class patriot and all other things shall be added unto him and his class.

The Bed of Procrustes.

Modern Application of a Fable

By Jayem.

Theseus, son of Aegeus, King of ancient Athens, slew a notorious robber named Procrustes, or the Stretcher. This monster had an iron bedstead on which he fastened all those travellers whom he captured. If a victim were short, Procrustes stretched him to fit the bedstead; if a tall man, his feet were lopped off. The mythical hero, Theseus, captured Procrustes and served him as he had served others.

In listening to the many speakers in public who so consistently misrepresent Socialism, one cannot help thinking how these individuals put that system on a Procrustean bed, stretching it or lopping off portions to fit their own distorted notions or beliefs concerning a social system that in reality, and from a scientific basis, is absolutely unassailable. One day Theseus, in the form of a social revolution, will destroy that Procrustes, Capitalism, and with it wage slavery, superstition and a host of evils.

An emasculated description of socialism as an Economic System, was given in Melbourne recently to a crowded audience, by Guido Baracchi, son of the ex-director of the Melbourne Observatory. The young man's paper was read in the presence of the chairman, Archbishop Mannix, a member of the R.C. clergy, and some hundreds of members of the Catholic Truth Society, the Women's Catholic Guild, and members of other of the church's numerous organisations.

G. Baracchi had evidently read Marx, Lafargue, and other Socialist writers, in order to misrepresent them. He said the central idea of the Socialism of Marx was the class struggle. But he was silent on the Materialist Conception of History, and the theory of Value, Price and Profit. For any public speaker to ignore two of the three principles of scientific Socialism in pretending to enlighten a big audience on this social systm, and to harp on one string so to speak (the class struggle) is much as one should till a blind man that the rainbow consists of two colours instead of seven.

The young man as befits a University student, was academic to a degree. He read prettily, and emphasised duly his conjunctions, an personal pronouns in the objective.

In other words, whenever he used the monysyllables "but" or "that," the sound of them dropped on the listening ear like bricks down a tenement chimney on a windy day. No hardened and war scarred veteran in the political arena could have glided over thin ice and slippery places with more safety than this pleasant-faced young University undergrad.

A new semi-bourgois system called the National Guilds, is being fostered by various societies in Britain, and in Melbourne. It is a so-called Socialism in which the State is to perpetuate the wages system, will the slaves as "solaria" or salary workers. This mongrel system Mr. Baracchi dealt with at great length, and he also was glib on producers and consumers. Of social evolution, of the materialist conception of history, the definition of which every Socialist should know so well as a Christian knows (but does not practice) the ten commandments. Of the exploitation by the master class of the working class, robbed on the average of a third of what they produce, not a word was said by a young man who only a few weeks ago was brought before University professors and admonished for writing certain "disloyal and unpatriotic" sentences in a University magazine.

The chairman made various jokes on Socialism, which as jokes were enjoyed by the large audience. As when he said universal equality is impossibe, "some are born good looking, some can sing, and of others we often wish they would not sing. (Much laughter.) There can be no social equality either, and even under Socialism some one must sweep the chimneys." (Great applause.)

No scientific Socialist has ever maintained universal mental equality of man, for each individual differs according to heredity and environment; and under the present system as of those in the past, his economic status influences his psychology. As to chimney sweeps, the gradual extinction of the world's supply of coal is a matter of a century or two. Oil fuel and electricity will also cause the disappearance of the chimney sweeps, and his ancient trade will be as out of date as religious superstition. New and improved machinery will, as every student knows, lessen manual labour to an extent at present undreamed of even by scientists.

The atheism of the Socialist was at this meeting trotted out, though no speaker quoted Marx, that "the religious world is the reflex of the material world," or that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." And as the church seeks to chloroform the masses with hope of life in some other existence where people will think without the medium of a physical brain, and sing everlasting songs without the aid of physical tongues, throats, and lungs, it is perhaps desirable to keep going the phrase "Socialists do not believe in religion."

A young man in speaking after the lecture mentioned Mary Marcy's pamphlet, "Why Catholic Workers Should be Socialists," but he did not mention a paragraph in it worth quoting—

"Every time prices go up and we organise a strike for higher wages, the managers of the estates of the far away and don't care millionaires come down on us with every weapon at their command to keep from giving us a little bit more of the wealth **we have produced.** And when we see public officials using the militia as scabs to drive us back to poverty it does not make us any more patriotic."

With all the misrepresentation of Socialism as an economic system, it is however, satisfactory that it is being discussed in cities, and before big audiences of the working class. What members of the A.S.P have to do is to be on the watch continually, and whenever possible to be at these meetings to listen, to note, and afterwards to refute by voice and pen the distorted views of those who lecture or read papers on Socialism to audiences ignorant of its principles.

It was a satisfactory admission on the part of the chairman that his church, equally with Socialists, are alive to the misery and poverty of thousands of people, many of whom are on the verge of starvation. The difference between a Socialist and an Archbishop is, that the former sees the solution of human misery on a material world, and by a class conscious people, while the latter looks to another existence in some unknown sphere for a people robbed in their material life of every physical and mental enjoyment that makes it worth while to be alive.

IN THE DOSS HOUSE.

I sometimes think the world a blazing hell,
And all the people in it half insane
That over all the earth a bloody spell—
Cast from out some monstrous wizard brain—
Glooms its flaming red of hate and pain,
Blinding the eyes of man: their souls as well.
Here murder, lust, deceit, and folly reign;
For love a curse, for Truth a prison-cell.
Better the dark of nothingness and death,
Than all this festering filth of thief and king;
Better the babe be choked with its first breath
And God were strangled ere the birth of Time,
Than there should be such useless suffering.

—ALBERT YOUNG.

The only working class paper is a Socialist paper. The "International Socialist" is admittedly one of the best,

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Industrial Unionism.

LABOUR'S ONLY ANSWER TO IMPERIALISED CAPITAL.

By J.M.G.

The movement towards increased combination of International Capital, for the purpose of securing the markets of the world and eliminating competition, has been foretold by many Socialist writers in the past. It is the historic role of modern capital. It must go on finding new markets for the increasing commodities produced by more perfected machinery. It could not be otherwise under a system of production for profit. But the inevitable end must come, for though the world is large, yet there is a limit to expansion, and when that limit is reached Capitalism will become disrupted.

The workers have to seriously consider, in view of the increased power which this combine will give to Capital, how to combat this menace. For it is a menace, and one that will wield the big club of coercion to keep the workers in subjection as wage slaves.

Their only hope is to organise industrially on a class basis. Craft unions, with their narrow outlook of getting concessions for themselves, leading to one union scabbing on another, conserving their own interests in opposition to the workers as a class, looking upon the interests of capital and labour as identical, agreeing to arbitration courts, conciliation boards, and them any futile attempts to harmonise that conflict of interests which must go on without remission under a system where every tool required to produce the necessaries of life are owned and controlled by a small section of society, while the larger portion of society have to compete against one another in the labor market for jobs, thus keeping wages at the line of bare subsistence.

No, craft unions won't do. They are obsolete, and unable to deal with the mighty forces of capital; and powerless to free the workers from the tyranny of a system responsible for all the brutalising condition of poverty, slums, drunkenness, war, and crimes of the vilest nature..

Craft unions have played a useful part in the past under the simpler form of production, but are an obstacle to the organisation of the growing body of semi-skilled workers, which the sub-division of labour is increasing very rapidly, owing to the perfecting of the tools of production.

Industrial Unionism is the negation of all that craft unionism stands for. It proposes to organise every worker of any industry or allied industry in one union, to organise them as a class, not only to force concessions from the employing class, but with the ultimate object of taking control of those industries.

The Industrial Union formed on a class conscious basis will be a compact, practical and revolutionary body, strong enough to enforce any demands from the employing class. It will recognise nothing in common with the capitalists, no truce between exploited and exploiter. It will realise that the workers produce the wealth of the world, and are compelled under the present system to hand the surplus value of what they produce over to the capitalist class, to be squandered in luxury and debauchery while they are compelled to live in slums and hovels.

They will organise to take control and be masters of the tools, the great machinery of industry, by which they produce the wealth. Having control of these tools, they will reap the full reward of their labour, own their jobs, and enjoy the wealth they create; thus eliminating that section in society of useless parasites who toil not nor spin.

Industrial unionism is the only hope for the workers, the only means by which they can combat such a huge combine of capital as is forming, a combine that will have the material forces of the State to keep the workers toiling to produce wealth for the master class.

Let the worker pause and consider their position. Let them realise the enormous strides capital is taking to consolidate its power, a power such as labour has never had before arrayed against it. Do not be misled by craft union salary-conserving mis-leaders, whose only interest is to be fog the workers into continuing in the old grooves of compromise.

Organise on these broad lines of class, and when strong enough form your own political party with the object of capturing the machinery of government; not for the purpose of administering it, but to abolish it and all class rule, and establish in its place the administration machinery, the same industrial union committees, necessary for directing industry in the Co-operative Commonwealth.—"The International," South Africa.

Lessons in Economics.

A Student.

No. II.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE TO-DAY.

(In his week's lesson extracts are taken from the study course in Socialism put out by the N.E.C., Socialist Party of America.)

Like othch ruling classes in history, the capitalist class has performed a useful social function. Like them, it has outlived its usefulness.

When power-driven machinery first came into use, the masses were not yet prepared for organised action, were not capable of uniting their small individual possessions into large units of capital, training specialists to manage them, and working co-operatively under their guidance. The question was between a continuance of the old individualistic small production and the rise of large production under the personal control of capitalist proprietors. The latter alternative prevailed, not because the people preferred it, but because it was the more efficient and economical system and better fitted to survive in the competitive struggle. In the early stages of capitalism, therefore, the owners of industrial plants were active superintendents and administrators of industry. The success of any capitalist depended largley on his knowledge of the industry and the sagacity and diligence with which he managed it. His efforts were largely directed against the wage workers and other classes of society, but in a larger sense they were also devoted to increasing the magnitude and efficiency of production, and thus he performed a necessary function in the development of society.

This condition no longer prevails. The capitalist class has become divided into two sections—the great and the small capitalists. Many small capitalists still superintend and administer their establishment; but small capital is now inefficient and unprogressive; the efforts of its proprietors are spent in a struggle for economic self-preservation and serve no social purpose. **Great capital alone now counts in economic progress** and the superintendence and administration of great industry has been almost abandoned by the capitalists and entrusted to salaried employees. For the greater part of the surplus value produced in capitalist industry goes to persons who have nothing to do with the management of industry—goes to the owners as owners, regardless of whether they do any productive work or not. The capitalists as a class, have thus become unnecessary in the conduct and development of production—have become a parasitic class.

Under these conditions, the economic and social interests of capitalists and of wage workers are fundamentally opposed—hence this conflict of interests draws with clear lines the class struggle.

The product of any industry is the joint product of all the workers directly or indirectly engaged in it. With slight exception, the product is created by workers who do not own and controlled by owners who do not work.

As shown in previous lessons, surplus-value is what remains after deducting wages from net product. It follows that, as a rule, capitalists desire to reduce wages and workers to increase them; capitalist desire a higher speed of labor and workers a slower rate.

But these are not the only points of opposition.

Wage workers desire safety of life, limb, and health. But these depend upon adequate space, lighting, ventilation, and cleaning in places of work, safeguarding of machinery, and employment of skilled and careful workmen during moderate hours and at a moderate rate. It is often cheaper for capitalists to employ children and inexperienced workmen to work them at high speed for exhaustingly long hours, to dispense with safety appliances, and to crowd machines and workers into small, dirty, ill-ventilated shops. This keeps down expenses and increases the capitalists' income at the cost of sickness, injury and death of workers.

Wage workers desire steady employment, with regular daily and weekly periods for rest and enjoyment. Capitalists desire to run their establishments full force and overtime in rush seasons and in slack seasons to reduce the force, run part time, or shut down. Their income is thus increased at the expense of alternate overwork and unemployment for the workers.

The wage workers desire the rights (and actual enjoyment of the rights) of organisation, assemblage, and discussion and agitation by speech and print for the advancement of their interests as wage workers and wealth producers. The capitalists fearing such collective action, use their economic power (discharge, black list, lockout), and their political influence (anti-labor laws, injunctions, censors, suits against unions, abuse of police and military) to destroy such organisations and stifle such discussion.

Back of all these conflicts over the details of the relation between employers and wage workers in the capitalist system lies a conflict of ultimate aims and ideals. The capitalists stand for industrial autocrasy—for the right and power to control for their own profit the production carried on by their employees.

The wage workers aspire towards industrial democracy—toward abolition of capitalist power and profit, and establishment of self-government in industry, the social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution by and for the workers themselves.

Out of the conflict over wages, hours, speeding, protection for life and limb, child labor, regulation of work, etc., rises the labor union movement, with the strike and show of solidarity—making an injury to one an injury to all—as its weapons, which are only effective when the workers are effectively industrially organised.

In the conflict for the right to agitate, educate, and organise for these immediate and ultimate aims, the labor movement is forced to use political action and find political expression for its economic organisations.

Under the shield of political activity, the industrial movement can agitate, educate and organise, and thus shape and recruit that organised industrial power without which political action in the sphere of parliamentary activity is useless.

This is what the Australian Socialist Party means when it declares:

"Political action then is only of value to the working class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power."

This is also what the Preamble of the W.I.I.U. means in its declaration:

'Between these two classes (the employing class and the working class) a struggle must go on until the toilers come together on the political field under the banner of a distinct revolutionary political party governed by the workers' class interests, and on the industrial field under the banner of One Great Industrial Union to take and hold all means of production and distribution, and to run them for the benefit of all wealth producers."

(To be Continued.)

"THE HARBOR."
-By Ernest Poole.
Price 3/6. Posted 3/9.
From the Australian Socialist Party's Book Depot, 115 Goulburn St, Sydney.

Industrial Organisation.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

"You must appeal to your class to join the union that is the true expression of your economic interests, and this union must be large enough to embrace you all and such is the organisation, now the Workers' International Industrial Union.

Every man and every woman who works for wages is eligible to membership.

Orgaised into various departments, when you join you become a **member of the department** that represents your craft or occupation, whatever it *may* be; and when you have a grievance, your department has supervision of it; and if you fail to adjust it in that department, you are not limited to your craft alone for support, but, if necessary, all the workers in all other departments will unite solidly in your defence to the very last.

Take a plant in modern industry. The workers under the old form of unionism are parcelled out to a score or more of unions. "Craft" division incites "craft" jealousy, and so they are more or less in conflict with each other, and the employer constructively takes advantage of this fact, and that is why he favours pure and simple unionism.

It were better for the workers who wear "craft" fetters, if they were not organised at all, for then they could and would spontaneously go out on strike together; but they cannot do this in "craft" unionism, for certain crafts bind themselves up in craft agreements, and after they have done this, they are at the *mercy of the capitalist*; and when their fellow unionists call upon them for aid, they make the very convenient excuse that they cannot help them, that they must preserve the sanctity of the contract they have made with the employer.

This **so-called** "contract" is regarded as of vastly more importance than the jobs, aye, the very lives of the working men themselves.

We do not intend that certain departments shall so attach themselves to the capitalist employers. We purpose that the workers shall all be organised, and if there is any agreement, it will embrace them all, and if there is any violation of the agreement, in the case of a single employee, it at once becomes the concern of all.

That is unionism, industrial unionism, in which all of the workers, totally regardless of occupation, are united compactly within the one **organisation,** so that at all times they can act together in the interests of all. It is upon this basis that the organisation, now the Workers' International Industrial Union, is organised. It is in this spirit and with this object in view that it makes its appeal to the working class.

Then again, the **revolutionary** economic organisation has a new and important function which has never once been thought of in the old union, for the simple reason that the old union intends that the wage-system shall endure forever.

The union, now the W.I.I.U., declares that the workers must make themselves the masters of the tools with which they work; and so a very important function of this new union is to teach the workers, or, rather, have them teach themselves the necessity of fitting themselves to **take charge of the industries** in which they are employed, when they are wrested, as they will be, from their capitalist masters.

So when you join the organisation, now the W.I.I.U., you feel the thrill of a new aspiration; you are no longer a blind, dumb wage slave. You begin to understand your true and vital relation to your fellow workers. In the organisation, now the Workers' International Industrial Union, you are co-related with all other workers in the plant, and thus you **develop the embryonic structure** of the co-operative commonwealth.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to become a subscriber.

* * *

"Come, then, cast off fooling,
And put by ease and rest,
For the Cause alone is worthy,
Till the good days bring the best."

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A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

UNITY DEBATE.

The debate between the S.L.P. and the A.S.P. on the question of the failure or otherwise of the S.L.P. to "show a spirit of unity" during the recent Unity Conference, duly eventuated at the Sydney Branch, A.S.P. Hall, on October the 8th. Despite the fact that a heavy downpour of rain happened along, there was a good attendance of members of both parties, and a goodly number of sympathisers.

Com. J. O. Moroney, Gen. Sec. of the S.L.P., occupied the chair. Com. E. E. Judd put the case for the S.L.P., and Com. A. S. Reardon for the A.S.P. In support of his case, that the S.L.P. had not failed to show a spirit of unity, Com. Judd dealt at great length with the past history of the movement in Australia, and in particular with the "awful past" of the A.S.P. From the tenor of the remarks of Com. Judd, together with the questions asked, it would appear that the only proposition the S.L.P. will consider is that the A.S.P. go out of existence, and its members creep quietly into the S.L.P., leaving that organisation intact as to name, paper and officials.

Com. Reardon, in reply, contented that even though mistakes may have been made in the past, the S.L.P., by considering unity and proceeding to a Conference on the matter with the A.S.P., admitted the party to be to-day a sound and scientific organisation. Either that, or their pretension that they desired unity was so much cant and hypocrisy. Proceeding then to the recent unity negotiations, he pointed out that the A.S.P. offered first to unite by accepting without question the name S.L.P., and asking the S.L.P. to meet them in the same spirit and retain the "International Socialist" as the name of the united party's paper. The S.L.P. refusing to accept this a deadlock was set up, in order to overcome which, the A.S.P. then proposed that the two parties unite under the name S.L.P., and the united party then decide for itself the name of the paper. The S.L.P. also refused to accept this proposition; he claimed that they had failed to show a spirit of unity, and upon their shoulders must rest the responsibility of the present disunity of the Socialist movement in Australia.

We had hoped in this issue to give a verbatim report of the whole debate, as the S.L.P. brought along a couple of shorthand reporters, and we were to receive a copy of the report. An alleged copy of same has come to hand, but the case for the A.S.P. is so contorted by omissions and incorrect phrasing as to render it almost beyond recognition, a fact which Com. Judd, who sent it along, for revision, recognised. Also the many interesting questions that were asked by the audience, and which, together with the replies thereto, throw much light upon unity matters generally, were so jumbled up in the report, that Com. Judd considers it futile to send it along.

The C.E. will endeavour to fix the matter up, meanwhile we ask the indulgence of all comrades who are interested.

A. S. REARDON,
Gen. Sec.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

Several members of this branch met at Richmond last Friday night, their intention being to hold a street propaganda meeting. Owing, however, to a new regulation resulting from the recent window smashing campaign organised by well meaning but foolish persons, street meetings at night are now prohibited. So this branch's Friday night activity devoted to teaching the principles of Socialism is for the time being off. But literature will be sold each week in the various suburbs.

As there is at present a Sunday lectures boom in this city, several theatres being engaged for the purpose, attendances at this hall have been somewhat reduced for the last few Sundays. A certain number of the branch's members, however, make a point of regular attendance at the hall, and so show a good example to others who attend only when there is a chance of pulling the subject of the lectures to pieces. However, the latter class of "critic" is always in evidence in every organisation, and those speakers well grounded in the principles of scientific Socialism welcome, and do not fear criticism that is based on sound knowledge. Also, it is always easier to pull down than build up: easier to talk than to work and help keep the branch going.

A second lecture on Evolution—(Social Evolution)—was given by Comrade E. Hanks—on October 7th. The history of mankind is divided into three periods—Savagery, Barbarism, Civilisation. The lowest type of savage man was the now extinct race of Tasmanian blacks, and just above them in development is the Australian black. All peoples over the world have passed through stages from lowest savagery to the present social system. The discovery of fire, making, next, the invention of pottery or art of using clay for domestic utensils, led on to the making of primitive weapons and tools—bows and arrows, stone axes, etc. A primitive plough evolved from a burnt stick marked the epoch of cultivation of the land. The domestication of animals led to pastoral pursuits. Smelting of metals, the age of bronze, brass, and iron tools followed, and gave rise to primitive industries. The age of feudalism rose when each baron around his castle had his retainers employed as chain makers, armourers, blacksmiths and bootmakers, with their apprentices in all these trades.

The great invention of the steam engine gave rise to the first factories, and towns where people flocked in search of work.

After this came modern industry, and the present system of capitalism with trusts and combines tending to be held by fewer and fewer hands; where huge firms or combines carry on a whole trade like steel or monopolise the oil trade. Under present conditions, the capitalist class is ever becoming less, and the working class more numerous.

The fight is now between two hostile classes, and who shall own the means of production—an oligarchy or a democracy.

I.M., Press Corr.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Not much has been heard of the Newtown branch for some time, so we now supply a report of branch activities to readers of the I.S. The strike rather affected things, notably in the attendance at meetings, but things are now livening up, and we have made a start holding meetings in the hall at Hatte's Arcade, where comrades put the position before the workers every Saturday and Sunday evening. A lot of work is needed here in Newtown, a lot of erstwhile strikers constituting the population, and, as usual, they can't make out why listening to various labor fakirs, marching in processions, and singing "Solidarity for ever!" didn't win the strike. The pathetic faith of the vast majority of them in the "good old hard Labor Party," and failing to realise that previous labor administrations are responsible for the card system in use at the present time in the railways, and in general, their support of the capitalistic system on the one hand, and objection to capitalistic exploitation on the other is enough to make the gods weep, to be brief, there's a job needs doing right here in Newtown, and Comrades are hereby exhorted to "spit on their hands" and hop right into it.

Comrade Nelson visited us on Saturday, October 6, and indulged in some solid criticism of the late Strike Defence Committee, and promised us further light on the subject at some future date. Needless to say, we look forward to Com. Nelson's next visit with anticipation, as he is, to say the least, real solid on the working class position.

We had Com. Reardon out on the 13th Oct., and his remarks as to various efforts of the working class to find a way out of the capitalistic labyrinth were extremely instructive; he pointed out the uselessness of reform, and showed how it was only possible for the workers to emancipate themselves by organising along lines of Scientific Socialism. The usual questions and debate followed both lectures, and both questions and debate showed that listeners were, in the main, taking a more than passing interest in social questions.

Meetings are held on the first and third Thursday in each month, and wage-slaves, students, critics, and anyone generally is hereby invited to roll along, and exchange views, engage in debate, and otherwise help to stimulate interest in the only form of organisation in line with historical development, Revolutionary Socialism on the political field, and the Workers' International Industrial Union on the Industrial, both used intelligently, will, at last, take this old world of ours and "re-mould it nearer to our heart's desire."

PATRICK DREW, Sec.

TOOWOOMBA.

Increasing activity is manifesting itself amongst the members of the party in Queensland. Latest news of the revival comes from Toowoomba. On Friday nights of late, meetings of a general industrial character, approximating between 400 and 500 people, have been held in that place. Comrades Quinton, Greig and Lonsdale happening to be in the locality have taken every opportunity to mount the platform and deliver the goods.

From latest news to hand, Comrade Greig at the last meeting engaged one, Griffiths, a local employer of labor, in a debate on economics, evidently with much success, for he has followed it up with a challenge to the National Political Party to send along any of their representatives, and he will meet them upon any subject in the realm of political economy.

And then Comrade Easterabb happened along, and seeing the crowd perceived also the fine opportunity for enlarging the sale of the "I.S." He immediately got in touch with headquarters, and when the next meeting was held Comrade Easterabb was there with eight dozen "International Socialists," which he found no difficulty in disposing of, and it is the intention of the comrades to carry on the same practice in the future.

With the increased activity in this direction from all quarters we soon hope to reach the extra thousand copies per week that we set out after a few months ago. Meanwhile, we assure the comrades in Toowoomba of our appreciation of their activities.

Comrade H. Barcan also deserves credit for the way in which he is increasing the list of subscribers in the Toowoomba district. Other rebels please copy.

THE RIGHT TO LABOR.

Out on the roads they have gathered, a hundred thousand men,
To ask for a hold on life as sure as the hold of the wolf in his den.
Their need lies close to the quick of life as the earth lies close to the stone;
It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone.

They ask but the leave to labor, to toil in the endless night,
For a little salt to savour their bread, for houses watertight;
They ask but the right to labor, and to live by the strength of their hands—
They who have bodies like knotted oaks and patience like sea sands.

And the right of a man to labor, and his right to labor in joy—
Not all your laws can blot that right, nor the gates of hell destroy.
For it came with the making of man, and it was needed into his bones,
And it will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.

—Edward Markham.

ESSAY COMPETITION.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words.

Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.

Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subject.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The subjects for this month are:—

(1) POVERTY.

(2) HOW ARE THE WORKING CLASS EXPLOITED?

SOCIALIST HALL
369 Pitt Street.

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21st,
— RAY EVERITT —
"THE LAUNCHING OF THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION IN AUSTRALIA."

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members. Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening. Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobsen, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. La-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Crimonology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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